1: Burrows--112-113 (1947-48) Woleaians
855 Ifalik

"....the care of children devolves to some extent on whoever is available for it. The main burden falls on the women. But older children keep an eye on younger ones to a greater extent than with us. And men love to play with children. Not only does a man frequently hold a small child on his lap or keep it near him when he is at home; he will often take one to the canoe-house, where other men may [113] help to keep it amused."

6: Senfft--56
116, 855

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Children are treated with great kindness and their only punishment consists of an occasional scolding.

28: Spiro--81 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842, 855 Ifalik

"With the birth of the first child another factor appears that may effect any future pregnancy. If the parents had mistreated their first child, had not satisfied its needs, Aluelap deems them incapable of raising children, and will not give them any more."

28: Spiro--99 [3]
116, 593, 867, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the same generation the older siblings, particularly the girls, function as protectors and guardians of the younger. When the babies are able to walk they play under the surveilance of the older girls--six or seven to eleven or twelve. Usually, two or three older girls will be in charge of a group of younger children, not only their own siblings, but the other children in the neighborhood. The smaller children can and do attach themselves to older boys, as well. But generally speaking, it is the specific task of the girls to care for them. This gives the elder sibling somewhat of a position of power over the younger, who at times resents it. I have, however, observed no cases of the usurpation of this power, though there are many cases of the opposite, that is, the refusal of the younger child to obey the older. Often an older sister would come to take a younger sibling home, and the latter would refuse. The older sibling often functions as a mother-surrogate, feeding and carrying the younger. It is a bit ludicrous to observe a young seven or eight year old girl carrying a three year old brother or sister. It is also amusing to observe the older ones trying to initiate the younger ones into the cultural values. While playing on the beach, one afternoon, the older girls tried frantically to get the younger children off the beach. When I asked for the reason, they explained that the men were coming in from fishing and that it was taboo for children to witness the bringing in of the fish. The young children refused to obey the girls, but I prevailed upon them to do so."

28: Spiro--99-100
116, 867, 562, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Not only the older sibling but any older boy or girl may play the role, of protector or guardian, as well as enforce the cultural values. One afternoon, Iliakong and Legasugabuk were doing a bwarux dance on the beach. Woromai, a lad of about 19 saw them from his canoe. He immediately shouted at them to stop the dance, which [100] they did.

There seems to be little question but that the men and older boys exercise greater authority over the children than do the women and older girls."

28: Spiro--100-101
116, 593, 855, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1
Ifalik

"The relationship between siblings, indicated evidence of sibling rivalry, though the evidence is not complete. Sibling rivalry can be expressed in many ways, directly and indirectly, overtly and symbolically. There is little question in my mind that much of the play of the children is an expression of this rivalry. Here I only want to record one of two instances of overt attempts of an older child to compete with a younger sibling for his mother's love. While sitting with a group of people, a young mother was sitting nursing a few-month's old baby. Her four year old son came out, stood behind her with his arms about her neck. After a time, he took his mother's breast from the mouth of his baby brother. His mother sent him away. In another case Lautrimar, a woman of about 35 was holding her baby daughter. Talemelemar, her five old son, walked over to her, put his arms about her waist, and began to fondle her breasts. She rebuffed him at first, but finally picked him up, and carried them both. A final example: Talavusman's father was playing with the young baby, and the Talememamar was looking on very enviously. He left them to sit on the lap of his mother, but in a short time she told him to get off. He at once grabbed a stick, and threatened his little parallel cousin with it. (This, of course, is an obvious displacement of aggression). He then took a cloth, covering his penis very ostentatiously, at which everyone laughed. Since the two younger babies in the house were girls, and they received all the attention, this little bit of behavior was probably an attempt to be a girl, so that he too could receive attention of the adults.

This latter incident brings us to crucial point in the emotional development of the child. As we have emphasized repeatedly the baby is king in Ifaluk. Not only are babies desired, not only are their every wants fulfilled, but they are the constant center of attention. They are always the focal point of the household. This orientation, moreover, remains constant. The adult eyes are always focused on the babies, so that once the baby grows older he is out of focus, so to speak, and a new baby is now in focus. There is little eye accommodation, which would enable both the infant and the growing baby to be in focus. In other words, the king is dethroned. His place of centrality is now usurped by a younger infant. From the position of extreme overt love and attention he now finds himself ignored. Adults are still concerned about him, but they leave him to shift for himself. He is free to come and go when he wants, to eat where he wants, as long as he is not too far from sight. But what is even more important, the constant overt affection displayed towards them when young, is now withdrawn. I have seldom seen a child four or five years old being held in an adult's arms, kissed, hugged, or in general receive over, physical affection. From a state of infancy--overabundant love--they pass directly to a state of adulthood, as far as the diaplay of affection is concerned. The result of this differential treatment is a child starving for affection. And much of child behavior--agressive behavior towards adults and children, rivalry, is certainly a result of this age differential treatment.

This behavioral fact, though it is patent, did not assume significance for me for some time. I had attributed the fondness of the children for me as gratitude for the candy I gave them and as the novel experience of knowing a person of different physical type. And, though these factors played some role, I later realized that they were by no means the major factor. The fact is that I was the only adult in their world that showed genuine interest in them, that played with them, that displayed overt affection for them. In other words, I was playing the role vis a vis [101] them that their parents and other adults had played when they were babies. I was filling a deep emotional need in their lives. This first began to dawn on me as I was sitting in a canoe house watching the men doing a repair job. Talemelemar, who is definitely a 'problem child', aggressive, uncooperative, disobedient, etc., came in and sat down next to me. He was strangely quiet and unboisterous--abnormal behavior for him--so I kept one eye on him and one on the men at work. After many abortive attempts he snuggled against me, resting his head on my arm. I put my arm around him, drawing him to me, whereupon he nestled against me, sinking his head into my lap. And for the duration of the afternoon he lay on my lap with a look of peace and serenity that I had thought he was incapable of. The bully and devil were completely gone. This was, for me, and impressive and crucial experience. For the first time I gained some insight into Talemelemar, and through him into the other children. I had done something that no other adult had done since he had been a baby. I had

shown some affection for him, had not rejected him, and had not, when later some babies came into the canoe house, discarded him in favor of them Later, this impression was confirmed in many other individual cases of children who were withdrawn and terribly insecure, but who warmed up to me when I gave them the same kind of affection."

28: Spiro--101-102
116, 593, 855, 578, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-13
Ifalik

"But what is even more impressive than this adult absorption with the infant, which results, in the ignoring of the emotional needs of the child (unwitting rejection), is the conscious ignoring and rejection of the child. The minutest frustration of the infant is attended to immediately, whereas even larger frustrations of the child are not only ignored, but often provoke amusement. A few examples may illuminate this point. One afternoon as I was resting in our tent I heard a tremendous outcry coming from the household behind us. It sounded like Talemelemar or Iliakong crying, and after it continued for a long time I became very irritated and went to discover the source of the trouble. As I approached the house, I saw that the disturber was neither of the two younger children, but rather Lemalialok, a girl of about seven. She was sitting on the ground, outside of her house, wailing at the top of her lungs. The wails seemed to be of frustration rather than of pain, and I remained to observe her, though she did not see me. Very soon, members of the household, some of whom were sitting in the house and some outside of the doorway, saw me and told Lemalialok that I was watching her. All this time, it is to be emphasized, the adults did nothing at all to appease her feelings, permitting her to lie on the ground, screaming to the point of exhaustion. When she was informed that I was watching her, she turned around, looked at me, and continued with her screaming. I walked towards her, and asked her why she was crying, and she answered that Leangteisai,

a sister a few years older than herself, had taken a knife from her. After talking to her, and giving her some candy, she finally stopped her crying. If I had not intervened she might have persisted in her behavior for an hour, and no one would have intervened. (18)

Another time I had been typing and was disturbed by crying coming from a house near us, crying which continued for a minimum of twenty minutes, after which I decided to investigate the trouble. It was three year old Lepiemar. It seems that her mother was holding her (the mother's) grandchild, and Lepiemar wanted her to hold her, but her mother refused, and shoved her away. Here is the rejection of the child and an obvious (to the child) preference for the younger baby. She sobbed and wailed, but her mother made absolutely no attempt to appease her. (19)

"18. When she stopped crying I called to Leangteisai, and asked her the cause of the difficulty. She gave me the same reason, but she told me the story with a smirk and a look of superiority on her face, --another of many examples of sibling rivalry.

19. The frustration stimulus may seem slight. But we have already indicated that infantile over-indulgence has created a low-threshold of frustration tolerance."

[102] On another occasion, four year old Lezabung, was the culprit. Again I heard a long protracted crying before I went to investigate the cause. Her mother, older sister, and four women were all sitting outside the house, but none made any gesture to help her. When she saw me, she came running to me, and wept bitter tears on my shoulder. Unfortunately, I did not ascertain the cause of her misery, as my linguistic ability, poor at the best, could not cope with the sounds of the crying girl."

28: Spiro--103
116, 855, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 2
Ifalik

"Rivalry between children for the attention of the adults is very obvious, and I shall restrict my examples to those in which I was the object of the rivalry. One evening, sitting in one of the houses, I saw Iliakong, but she ignored me. I began to play with one of the little girls, and immediately the former came over, laughing at me, sat on my lap, forcing her attention upon me.

Lezabung wanted some candy, and I gave her some. She asked me to carry her to her home where the other children were playing. As we walked, I asked her why she didn't eat her candy, but she only smiled coyly. The reason soon became evident. When we came to her home, she proudly showed off her candy to the other children. The whole point of my giving her the candy and carrying her home, was to show off to the others.

Almost every day, the children would fight with each other over who was to sit on my lap, and the problem could be solved only by permitting two and even three to do so simultaneously.

Walking down the path, Talavusman and Talemelmar were fighting as to which would hold my hand. The latter struck the former with a coconut leaf, who fell to the ground crying. (An older girl picked him up and consoled him).

Two children were playing with a tennis ball, competing with each other to see who would throw it at me. When one threw it at one, the other would fall crying to the ground, and vice versa.

What they want, in all of these antics, is the adult's exclusive attention, and they are unwilling to share it with the others. If I held one in my arms, the others would try to intrude, and if I would not hold them as well, they would try to pull the first one off. If one can't have the desired object, the other cannot, either. One day, this would not work, and they tried other techniques. They tried to draw my attention from the child in my arms to themselves, by an exhibitionistic performance. Talemelemar rolled a record disk on its side. Velaut threw a stone in the air. Lezabung asked me to look at a sore on her leg. The others showed me sham sores, asking that I put medicine on them. Talavusman showed me two or three, and I refused to put on medicine as they were slight scratches. Talememar then grabbed Talavusman's penis, saying I should look at it."

28: Spiro--142-143
116, 765, 775, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 4
Ifalik

"The behavior of the people following the burial is extremely interesting because of a seeming paradox. The paradox was obvious from the first death that I witnessed, and the same pattern was repeated in the other four deaths, and in each case my field notes remark on the phenomenon, though with different possible interpretations. I refer to the great discrepancy between the intense wailing prior to, and immediately following death, and the apparent lack of mourning and seeming forgetting of the person after death. The same person who indulges in the intense wailing, scratching of face and chest, and indulging in what seems like almost pure hysterical behavior, will, after the burial, revert to his normal personality, smiling, laughing and joking with no signs of bereavement. One would superficially say that this shows that the people do not really love their kin, and the wailing at the funeral is entirely formal and stylized. But this answer would be far from the truth. Despite the patterned nature of the mourning, the feelings felt are genuine. There is no question about the intense feelings of Arivimae, who burned his mother's house, or of Navor's husband. Yet, despite their acute suffering, they too showed no evidence of mourning or acute suffering even a couple of days after the burial. After the four day mourning period, they were in the canoe houses, laughing and joking, interested in the daily events, and eating heartily. The men had returned from fishing, and Navor's husband was intensely interested in the fish he was about to eat, displaying

a remarkable appetite for a man in sorrow.

But the problem goes even deeper. The people are vitally concerned about the recovery of an ill person. They will, and do, sacrifice energy, time, wealth, to ensure his recovery. Maroligar, and Wetriliar, for example, the maternal uncle and brother-in law, respectively, of Navor, did everything in their powers to save her when she was ill. They conducted rituals, they made medicine, they literally devoted their entire day for a period of at least a month, when she was critically ill, to her service. When they saw that she could not be helped and that she was going to die, they were deeply crushed. Their mental suffering was obvious to anyone. But immediately after the burial, the very same day, they were laughing and smiling, giving no evidence of any mourning. It is as if the deceased is completely forgotten, as if he never existed, and life goes on. In fact during the official mourning period, Maroligar spent his days playing cards with the young men.

Now to us this may seem callous. This is another indication, some might say, of the primitive' lack of sensibility. But, such an interpretation would be false and merely display a narrow ethnocentrism. That the people love each other deeply is shown throughout this entire monograph. It is true, of course, that the love applies only to the living not to the dead. And in a small society, such as Ifaluk, reality dictates the necessity of such behavior. Since all the people interract with great intimacy, and the relationship

between them is very close, the culture would collapse if mourning were long and protracted, and the people let themselves be overwhelmed by death. Intense suffering would incapacitate them, they could not do their work, and the results would be disastrous. Instead, the mourning is brief, but intensely acute, a real catharsis is experienced, and then life continues.

But the reality situation alone cannot explain this phenomenon. People do not or cannot always adjust to the demands of reality. Furthermore, what must be explained here is not the overt behavior but the psychological experience. The people could conceivably return to their normal living, but still suffer. What accounts for the seeming abrupt end of the psychological mourning? As far as I can see, there [143] are only two conceivable reasons. First, there is the belief in the continued existence of the soul. The person is not extinguished, his existence continues, but in another form, and there is some communication with him. This answer, however, is not adequate since the same belief obtains in other societies, and the reaction to death is not the same. Another answer suggests itself, which we shall point to only briefly here, and examine its implications and ramifications in the section on personality. The growing child, it will be remembered, forms no exclusive emotional attachments. He is surrounded by many adults, many of whom play as important roles in his life as his own parents. This means that the emotional cathexis of the individual are not intense, but are distributed over a number of

people. This means that though the indivdual feels a loss at the death of a loved one, this loss is not as a severe drainage of one's own ego since there are numerous other individuals for whom the individual feels similar attachments. In a society in which individuals form exclusive emotional cathesis, death means a serious drainage of one's own narcisstic supplies, since the identification has been intense, and the other's extinction is felt as one's own. But there the cathexis are diffuse, the loss of one is not severe, since the person has established many other identifications and they continue after the death of any one. This means, to employ a figure that though one psychological tentacle has lost its object, the others still cling to theirs."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

353 sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

123 125 The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the [516] people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the [600] presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was super- [502] ficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

291 There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest maneuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

855 861 The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

854 The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

milk or toddy as a liquid for cooking, than as a food in itself. But the green nuts everywhere provided a handy source of drink; and the translucent, jelly-like flesh of these green nuts, eaten after the milk has been drunk, was surely a highly nutritious, though perhaps minor, food.

When a coconut sprouts, the hollow of the nut becomes filled with the white spongy tissue of a special absorbing organ (an extension of the cotyledon). This spongy tissue has a pleasant, sweetish taste and the Ifalukians were very fond of it. It often seemed to me that the juice of green coconuts filled the role on Ifaluk of soft drinks or mid-morning coffee in our culture; and that the spongy tissue of these sprouted nuts corresponded to candy bars, a tasty snack always readily available. The Ifalukian product, in both cases, would seem to be more "healthful" than its Western counterpart.

Toddy, or hachi, the sap that oozed from the cut flower stalks of coconuts, was a very important element in the Ifalukian dietary. Many palms have a strong flow of sap into the large, rapidly-growing flower stalks, and people in several parts of the world have learned to use this—most notoriously in a fermented form. The flow of sap was better in some coconut palms than in others, and on Ifaluk the particularly good palms were marked off for this special purpose of supplying toddy. Every morning and every evening all of the young men of the island were off on their rounds of collection, each with his special beat.

The toddy palms all had notches cut in the trunks to facilitate climbing. A man would go to each of his palms in succession, climb up to the crown, pour the sap accumulated in a coconut shell into the bottle he carried, shear off a thin slice from the end of the cut flower stalk to stimulate sap flow, replace the coconut shell to catch the drip, and go on to the next palm. Several quarts of the fresh sap were thus brought into every household each morning and evening.

The rich, sweetish sap was reserved primarily for the women and children—its place in the diet of Ifaluk seemed to correspond to milk in the diet of the West, and the regularity of the young men with their toddy chores reminded me strongly of the regularity of the milking chore in the rural West. It was, in fact, the only regularity we were